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been an excellent example of the danger of basing such calculations upon purely material considerations such as territory and population, and ignoring moral forces such as national consciousness and international comity" (p. 354).

The relations to the causes and events of the present war will perhaps be the chief interest of the many readers at the present moment. But the book is rich in general reflections upon war, its causes justifiable or unjustifiable, its effects good or bad, upon tendencies democratic or imperialistic, upon the superiority in ultimate vision of "democratic diplomacy" over "Realpolitik," etc. Whether or not one agrees with the conclusions, they are thoughtful and strikingly stated. The indisputable value of the book lies in the penetrating analysis of the specific conditions of "nationalism and war in the Near East." Everyone who has ever lived for any length of time in one of the Balkan lands has felt, in an almost physical sense, the overpowering dominance of nationalistic sentiment raised to the nth power. The author shows in detail that nationalism is the one vital factor, absorbing all others, so that, for example, the church is no constructive moral force, but only an agency of nationalism. "Balkan nationalism is still in active eruption—it is hot enough and fluid enough to penetrate any crack and ignite any combustible."

CARL D. BUCK.

*Economic Origins of Jeffersonian Democracy.* By CHARLES A. BEARD. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1915. Pp. ix, 474.)

This volume, which, the author promises, will be shortly followed by another on "Agrarianism and Slavocracy," is the second of Professor Beard's notable contributions to the fulfilment of the prophecy quoted by him in the preface, that "American history will shortly be rewritten along economic lines."

Professor Beard, taking issue with the conclusions of Professors Basset and Libby, that the period of Washington's administration was a "purely transitional era," marked by no great and definite political cleavages, finds therein the same great conflict between the rugged debtor yeomanry and the creditor "fiscal view," between agrarianism and fluid capital, that dominated the campaign for the ratification of the Constitution, and traces it down, translated by the current political nomenclature and circumstance, into Federalism versus Republicanism, and, later, into Federalism and Jeffersonian Democracy.

Jeffersonian Democracy at best, according to the author, "meant simply the possession of the federal government by the agrarian masses led by an aristocracy of slave-owning planters and the theoretical repudiation of the right to use the government for the benefit of any capitalistic groups, fiscal banking or manufacturing." Professor Beard by no means shares the naive faith of a distinguished Senator from Mississippi and others in Jefferson's passionate "cherishment of the people" as the basic principle of Jefferson's political creed. While, of course, on the platform and in the press, Jefferson was the incarnation of an abiding belief in the virtue of the soil and an abhorrence of the "arts and artifices of commerce, finance and manufactures," any explanation in these terms of his Democratic partisanship appears to the author as superficial as did the "inspiration theory" of the Constitution. No clash of foreign or indigenous philosophical preconceptions or political and social ideals, but agrarianism versus fluid capital is the author's simple key to the "Great Battle of 1800." "There is no doubt," he says, "that Jefferson believed the landed interest to be the economic foundation of the Republican party. This would be inferred, of course, from his general notion that agriculture was the only enduring basis of republican government, but on more than one occasion, he referred to that interest as the object of his solicitude in politics and the chief support of the Republican party." But Professor Beard finds that Jefferson could always on occasion bury his dislike of the "paper feudal system," the "Anglican monarchical aristocratical party." "Jefferson was what Hamilton declared him to be, a theorist who never allowed his dogmas to interfere with the pressing exigencies of practical affairs. But when all is said and done, it yet remains true that, within the limits of stern realities, Jefferson was agrarian in his principles and practices."

Naturally, the portion of this volume bearing most directly upon the thesis of that school of American historians with which Professor Beard's name is invariably associated, is that containing data on security-holdings by public officers or great local groups laboriously gathered by the author from the Treasury books at Washington, as for instance, in his analysis of the vote on the Assumption and Funding Bills. One may venture to suggest that some of this important material is rather concealed by too much foundation and explanation. The relevancy of Chapter XI on The Political Economy of John Adams is not always apparent.

Without in any way committing one self to the main economic hy-

pothesis of the work, the value of the radical and healthy stimulus to American historical research afforded by this second phase in Professor Beard's American trilogy of economic determinism cannot be overstated. It is to be hoped that the trilogy will be extended to a cycle, the epilogue of which will be set in our own day.

FRANK I. SCHECHTER.

*Socialized Germany.* By FREDERIC C. HOWE, LL.D. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1915. Pp. x, 342.)

The purpose of this work is, *first*, to explain the foundations of efficiency, the bases of the extraordinary material strength, which the European conflict has revealed Germany as possessing; *second* and chiefly, to suggest "a new kind of social statesmanship which our own as well as other countries must take into consideration if they are to be prepared to meet the Germany which, in victory or defeat, emerges from the war." It is the system of state socialism, described in this volume, which "has largely made Germany what she is, a menace or a model, a problem to statesmen of other countries, and a pathfinder in social reform." It is the firm conviction of the author that "Germany is more intelligently organized than the rest of the world. The individual German receives more from society. He is better protected in his daily life. The gains of civilization are more widely distributed than they are with us."

State socialism in Germany is not, in the opinion of the author, entirely a product of modern influences and conditions. Much of it springs from the feudal elements which are still vital and effective in German society. The landed feudal aristocracy, the Junker class, is the dominating political force both in Prussia and the Empire. It is absolutistic, militaristic and imperialistic. It has always believed in a strong state and in broad state powers. The liberal, individualistic and *laissez faire* economic and political ideas of early nineteenth century England have never found lodgment in German philosophy. To this feudal viewpoint no opposition is raised by other classes. Monarchical or state socialism is the most natural thing in the world to Germans generally. "There have never been any presumptions in Germany against the state. From earliest times the great landed estates and forests have been owned and operated as part of the fiscal system. The lives and property of the individuals have been regulated with inquisitorial officialism. The state has been supreme in the eyes of all classes."